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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BEIJING 030201

DEPT PASS TO OFFICES OF CONGRESSMEN GIBBONS, PICKLE,
MCNULTY, JEFFERSON, THOMAS, PAYNE, HERGER, COYNE, AND
SHAW

PASS TO USTR SANDS/LEHR

E.O. 12356: DECL OADR
TAGS: OREP, PHUM, ETRD, PARM, MNUC, CH
SUBJECT: CODEL GIBBONS AUGUST 18 MEETING WITH CHINESE
PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN
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1. CONFIDENTIAL. ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS TRADE
SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ON AUGUST 18 DISCUSSED MFN,
HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ARMS SALES WITH PRC PRESIDENT JIANG
ZEMIN. THE CHAIRMAN SAID THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO
SHIFT AWAY FROM AN ANNUAL REVIEW OF MFN; PRESIDENT
CLINTON'S EXECUTIVE ORDER REPRESENTED A FIRST STEP IN
THAT DIRECTION, BUT HE EXPRESSED CONCERNS THAT
CONGRESS MIGHT NOT PRESERVE CHINA'S MFN FOR 1994.
THE SEVEN OTHER TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT
DISCUSSED CHINESE POLITICAL PRISONERS, IPR, GATT
ACCESSION, ILLEGAL TEXTILE TRANSHIPMENTS, CHINESE
BARRIERS TO U.S. AG EXPORTS, AND CHINA'S

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TRANSFORMATION TO A MARKET ECONOMY AMID RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH. PRESIDENT JIANG SAID THAT:
-- MFN BENEFITED BOTH SIDES AND SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS A FAVOR TO CHINA;

-- BOTH COUNTRIES HAD HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS;
AND,

-- CHINA'S ARMS SALES WERE ONLY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF ITS TOTAL EXPORTS. END SUMMARY.

3. HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE CHAIRMAN SAM GIBBONS (D-FL) ON AUGUST 18 DISCUSSED MFN, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ARMS SALES WITH PRC PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN. OTHER SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT WERE: MICHAEL R. MCNULTY (D-NY), WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON (D-LA), BILL THOMAS (R-CA), LEWIS F. PAYNE (D-VA),

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WALLY HERGER (R-CA), WILLIAM COYNE (D-PA), AND E. CLAY SHAW, JR. (R-FL).

VIEWS OF GIBBONS DELEGATION

4. CHAIRMAN GIBBONS OPENED BY EXPRESSING HIS AMAZEMENT AT THE MATERIAL PROGRESS CHINA HAD MADE SINCE HIS FIRST VISIT IN 1977. GIBBONS SAID THE U.S. WANTED TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE ITS FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE WITH CHINA. HE FULLY SUPPORTED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S EXECUTIVE ORDER REGARDING CHINA AND WANTED TO WORK TOGETHER WITH CHINA ON IT. THE EXECUTIVE ORDER WAS A POLITICAL PROBLEM IN THE U.S., AS REFLECTED IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTES ON THE SUBJECT. THE U.S. WAS STUCK WITH A PROCESS DESIGNED FOR THE FORMER USSR DURING THE COLD WAR. SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF AND MANY IN CONGRESS, CHAIRMAN GIBBONS SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO SHIFT AWAY FROM AN ANNUAL REVIEW OF MFN, WHICH WAS A CRUDE AND INEFFECTIVE TOOL, AND HANDLE OUR DIFFERENCES IN OTHER WAYS. THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER AND THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE IN FAVOR OF EXTENDING MFN FOR ANOTHER YEAR, THE FIRST SINCE 1988, REPRESENTED A STEP IN THAT DIRECTION.

5. NEVERTHELESS, CHAIRMAN GIBBONS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT NEXT YEAR HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO GARNER ENOUGH VOTES TO PRESERVE CHINA'S MFN FOR 1994. THIS YEAR GETTING THE VOTES HAD BEEN RELATIVELY EASY, BUT HE EXPECTED NEXT YEAR WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT. HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE OPPOSING BEIJING AS THE SITE OF THE 2000 OLYMPICS. IN
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OTHER RESPECTS, WE WERE MAKING PROGRESS ON OTHER TRADE
ISSUES AND WERE HAPPY WITH THE MOUS AGREED TO BY BOTH
SIDES; CHINA'S ACCESSION TO GATT WOULD BE WORKED OUT
IN DUE COURSE. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT
THE STATISTICS ON THE TRADE BALANCE. THE CONCERNS IN
THE UNITED STATES ABOUT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION WOULD
ALSO BE REFLECTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE. WE
COUNTED ON CHINESE HELP TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF
DANGEROUS WEAPONS.

6. CONGRESSMAN MCNULTY SAID THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE
WAS IMPORTANT TO AMERICANS AND INFLUENCED HOW CONGRESS
VOTED ON MFN. ONE CONDITION IN THE PRESIDENT'S
EXECUTIVE ORDER FOR MFN RENEWAL WAS THAT SIGNIFICANT
PROGRESS BE ACHIEVED IN RELEASING AND ACCOUNTING FOR
THOSE IMPRISONED IN CHINA FOR RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL
BELIEFS. MCNULTY ASKED JIANG TO REVIEW A LIST OF

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PROMINENT POLITICAL PRISONERS COMPILED BY THE STATE
DEPARTMENT AND CONSIDER RELEASING THEM. HE ALSO ASKED
PRESIDENT JIANG TO INVESTIGATE THE CASE OF BISHOP CHEN
JIANZHANG, WHOSE WHEREABOUTS HAVE BEEN UNKNOWN FOR
SOME TIME. HE HOPED THE PRESIDENT WOULD CONSIDER
THESE REQUESTS SO THAT NEXT YEAR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
COULD ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORT CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT
OF US-PRC RELATIONS.

7. CONGRESSMAN JEFFERSON EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT
CHINA'S ENFORCEMENT OF THE 1992 MOU ON INTELLECTUAL
PROPERTY RIGHTS. IPR PROTECTION WAS A PRIMARY ISSUE
FOR U.S. BUSINESS AND, AS CHINA DEVELOPED, WOULD
AFFECT CHINA'S OWN INTERESTS. HE APPLAUDED CHINA FOR
THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE 1992 IPR MOU BUT STRESSED
THAT ENFORCEMENT OF THE MOU WAS NOW OUR PRINCIPAL
CONCERN. HE HOPED PRESIDENT JIANG WOULD ADDRESS THIS
QUESTION AND PROVIDE REASSURANCE TO THE COMMITTEE THAT
THE PRC GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE STEPS TO CURB IPR
VIOLATIONS.

8. CONGRESSMAN THOMAS COMMENTED ON THE ENORMOUS
CHANGE IN CHINA SINCE HIS LAST VISIT EIGHT YEARS
BEFORE. HE THOUGHT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD WISELY
DELINKED TRADE QUESTIONS FROM HUMAN RIGHTS
CONSIDERATIONS IN HIS HANDLING OF THE EXECUTIVE ORDER
ON MFN, AND HE WAS CONFIDENT CHINA'S LEADERS WOULD
SHOW PROGRESS ON THE SPECIFIC AREAS DETAILED IN THE
EXECUTIVE ORDER. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO CONTINUED
EXPANSION OF TRADE UNDER THE MOUS AND TO CHINA'S

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BECOMING A FULL MEMBER OF GATT. HE CLOSED BY
EXPRESSING HIS HOPE THAT INSTEAD OF SLOGANS CALLING
FOR "A MORE OPEN CHINA IN THE YEAR 2000," CHINA WOULD
ASSUME A COMMITMENT TO A MORE OPEN CHINA WITHOUT A
SPECIFIC DATE.

9. CONGRESSMAN PAYNE NOTED THAT HIS HOME STATE OF
VIRGINIA WAS AN IMPORTANT TEXTILE PRODUCER, AND HE HAD
BEEN GLAD TO HEAR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE AND
ECONOMIC COOPERATION (MOFTEC) VICE-MINISTER GU
YONGJIANG EXPRESS IN AN EARLIER MEETING THE
WILLINGNESS OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO WORK WITH THE
USG TO STOP DOLS 2 BILLION IN ILLEGAL TEXTILE
TRANSSHIPMENTS. PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD ESTABLISHED A
TASK FORCE TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM, AND ITS LEADERS
WOULD VISIT CHINA NEXT MONTH. SOLVING THIS AND OTHER
TRADE ISSUES WOULD GO A LONG WAY TOWARD RESOLVING MFN
PROBLEMS NEXT YEAR.

10. CONGRESSMAN HERGER SAID THAT CHINA'S TRADE
SURPLUS WAS A CONCERN IN THE U.S., ESPECIALLY IN HIS
AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT, WHICH PRODUCED OVER 200
COMMODITIES FOR CONSUMPTION AND EXPORT. HERGER
EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT CHINA WOULD REDUCE ITS TRADE
BARRIERS TO U.S. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, ALLOWING THE
EXPANSION OF U.S. AG EXPORTS TO CHINA INCLUDING CANNED
PEACHES, KIWI FRUIT, CORN AND SOYBEANS.

11. CONGRESSMAN COYNE NOTED THAT IN OCTOBER 1992 THE
U.S. HAD ENDORSED CHINA'S APPLICATION TO BECOME A
CONTRACTING PARTY TO GATT. HE STRESSED THAT THIS
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DEPENDEN ON CHINA'S CONTINUED TRANSFORMATION INTO A
MARKET-BASED ECONOMY, AND CHINA'S FOLLOWING UNIFORM
RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM.

12. CONGRESSMAN SHAW SAID HE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED
CHINA WITH RESPECT TO MFN AND THE 2000 OLYMPICS. [HE
FELT THAT THE PROGRESS CHINA HAS MADE OVER THE LAST 10
TO 15 YEARS WAS NOTHING SHORT OF A MIRACLE, INCLUDING
IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ECONOMY.] MOST MEMBERS OF
CONGRESS HAD NOT HAD THE BENEFIT OF SEEING THIS
PROGRESS, WHICH WAS MADE IN THE FACE OF TREMENDOUS
PROBLEMS SUCH AS A HUGE POPULATION. SHAW FEARED THAT
ANY INTERRUPTION IN MFN FOR CHINA
WOULD BE A TERRIBLE
STEP BACKWARD IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY
WHEN CHINA HAD OPENED UP ITS DOORS TO THE WEST. RE

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HOPED THAT PRESIDENT JIANG WOULD NOT TAKE COMMENTS BY
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AS MEDDLING IN CHINA'S INTERNAL

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AFFAIRS BUT AS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE TRADE AND DEAL WITH PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE MFN VOTE NEXT YEAR.

JIANG ON MFN...

13. JIANG, POINTING OUT THAT HE HAD LET HIS GUESTS SPEAK FIRST, NOTED THAT THEIR COMMENTS DEALT WITH THREE ISSUES: MFN, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ARMS SALES. JIANG SAID THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED MFN AT LENGTH IN A RECENT INTERVIEW ON CNN. MFN BENEFITTED BOTH SIDES, JIANG STRESSED. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER CHINA HAD A TRADE SURPLUS OR DEFICIT WITH THE U.S. SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE EXPERTS. HE WOULD URGE THE CHINESE SIDE TO IMPORT MORE FROM THE UNITED STATES WHILE CONTINUING TO PROMOTE CHINESE EXPORTS TO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD. JIANG EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT BOTH SIDES COULD REMOVE MISUNDERSTANDINGS, AND NOT TAKE MFN AS A FAVOR. THE U.S. MIGHT CREATE BIG MISUNDERSTANDINGS IF IT EXERTED PRESSURE BY TELLING CHINA TO DO THIS AND THAT. TO MAKE HIS POINT, JIANG NOTED THAT HE HAD STUDIED ENGINEERING, AND DESCRIBED HOW EQUIPMENT UNDER PRESSURE MUST HAVE A SAFETY VALVE.

...HUMAN RIGHTS...

14. REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS, JIANG SAID THAT HE ALSO ONCE STUDIED ECONOMIC HISTORY INCLUDING ENGLAND'S MAGNA CARTA, AMERICA'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS. EACH COUNTRY HAD ITS OWN PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA. JIANG SAID HE SAW THIS CLEARLY

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LAST YEAR ON SATELLITE TV WHEN HE VIEWED REPORTS ON RIOTING IN LOS ANGELES. JIANG NOTED HE HAD TOLD FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER TWO YEARS AGO THAT CHINA HAD TO FEED ITS 1.17 BILLION PEOPLE, AND THAT HAVING ENOUGH TO EAT WAS AN IMPORTANT RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE. OTHERS HAD SPOKEN TO JIANG ABOUT FREEDOM OF EMMIGRATION. IF CHINESE HAD THIS FREEDOM AND ONE IN 10,000 CHINESE WENT TO THE U.S., AMERICAN WOULD HAVE TO ACCOMMODATE 117,000 NEW RESIDENTS. ALTHOUGH THE U.S. COMPLAINED ABOUT ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS, JIANG SAID, IT ALSO WELCOMED THEM, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH HIGHER EDUCATION. HE QUOTED A CHINESE SAYING, "IF THE WIND BLOWS, RAIN WILL BE THERE."

15. THE PRC'S CONSTITUTION GUARANTEED FREEDOM OF SPEECH, JIANG ASSERTED. JIANG RECALLED HIS DAYS AS AN UNDERGROUND CCP MEMBER WHEN THE KMT DID NOT ALLOW "ONE

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WORD OF CRITICISM." WHEN JIANG WAS A COLLEGE SENIOR HE HAD PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATIONS WHERE HE HAD CHANTED FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY ON NANJING ROAD IN SHANGHAI; U.S. ADVISORS TO THE KMT HAD OFFICES ON THE SAME ROAD, BUT THE UNITED STATES HAD SUPPORTED THE KMT, NOT THE STUDENTS. CHINA NOW HAS FREEDOM OF SPEECH, HE ASSERTED, BUT ACTS TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT ARE NOT ALLOWED.

...AND MILITARY SALES

16. QUOTING A LETTER HE HAD RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON CONGRATULATING HIM ON HIS ELECTION AS PRC PRESIDENT, JIANG SAID BOTH COUNTRIES, AS LEADERS OF
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THE WORLD COMMUNITY, MUST BASE THEIR RELATIONSHIP ON MUTUAL TRUST. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION, JIANG SAID HE OFTEN HEARD GENERALS COMPLAIN OF CHINA'S SMALL MILITARY BUDGET, WHICH IS ONLY DOLS 7 BILLION, COMPARED WITH DOLS 30 BILLION IN JAPAN AND 250 BILLION IN THE U.S. CHINA'S ARMS SALES WERE ONLY A VERY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF ITS EXPORTS, LESS THAN ONE PERCENT. ONCE CHINA ADHERED TO AN AGREEMENT, IT ABIDED BY ITS OBLIGATIONS.

17. JIANG CLAIMED ACCUSATIONS THAT THE CHINESE SHIP "YIN HE" IS CARRYING CHEMICAL PRECURSORS WERE GROUNDLESS. IF IN THE END THE YIN HE WAS NOT CARRYING PRECURSORS, HE WARNED, U.S. CREDIBILITY WOULD BE DAMAGED. JIANG SAID THAT CHINA ADHERED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NPT AND WAS IN FAVOR OF DENUCLEARIZING THE KOREAN PENINSULA. THE PRC'S GOAL

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WAS THE COMPREHENSIVE DESTRUCTION OF ALL NUCLEAR
WEAPONS.

18. THIS MESSAGE WAS NOT CLEARED WITH CODEL GIBBONS.
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